

## Message Text

SECRET

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LONDON

TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 SECTO 32061

NODIS

E.O. GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: LETTER TO NYERERE

PLEASE TRANSMIT AS EARLY ON DECEMBER 11 AS POSSIBLE TO  
PRESIDENT NYERERE.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AS ALWAYS, I HAVE READ YOUR THOUGHTFUL LETTER OF  
DECEMBER 9 WITH INTEREST AND PROFIT. WE HAVE COME A  
LONG WAY SINCE OUR DISCUSSIONS AND CORRESPONDENCE BEGAN  
LAST SPRING, AND I AM CERTAIN THAT THE CAUSE OF A FREE,  
INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA WILL BE ADVANCED BY  
OUR CONTINUING FRANK EXCHANGES.

WHATEVER OUR VARYING RECOLLECTIONS OF THE PAST, I  
ASSURE YOU THAT THERE IS NO DEVIATION FROM OUR STRICT  
ADHERENCE TO THE CAUSE OF MAJORITY RULE AND  
INDEPENDENCE IN RHODESIA.

SEVERAL PROBLEMS, SOME QUITE REAL AND SOME PERHAPS  
SEMANTIC, CONTINUE TO PLAGUE US AND APPARENTLY THE  
CONFERENCE IN GENEVA. ONE OF THESE OBVIOUSLY IS THE  
CONCEPT OF THE ALLOCATION OF POWER DURING AN INTERIM  
GOVERNMENT. I FULLY UNDERSTAND YOUR CONTENTION THAT A  
LEADER WHO HAS PROVED SLIPPERY IN THE PAST MAY USE ANY  
SHARED POWER TO FRUSTRATE THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY.  
I AM CONFIDENT THAT A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE FORMULA CAN BE  
FOUND IN GENEVA.

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I MUCH APPRECIATE YOUR CAREFUL, DETAILED REVIEW OF ALL THE MEETINGS WHICH PRECEDED THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. SUCH WAS ALSO THE BASIC INTENTION OF MY DECEMBER 6 LETTER. IN NEITHER CASE DO I SEE ANY DIVERGENCE FROM OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE OF TRANSFERRING POWER FROM THE MINORITY TO THE MAJORITY QUICKLY WITH AN AFRICAN MAJORITY IN THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AND WITH GUARANTEES FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE.

AS I HAVE TRIED TO MAKE CLEAR BEFORE, IN SEPTEMBER WE MADE NO CONTRACTUAL COMMITMENTS TO SMITH, THOUGH WE ALL CONTINUE TO READ AND HEAR ASSERTIONS TO THE CONTRARY.

AS MY TERM IN OFFICE DRAWS TO A CLOSE, I AM MUCH CONCERNED TO TAKE ANY STEPS THAT I CAN TO ASSURE SUCCESS IN GENEVA. HERE IN LONDON I HAVE HAD LONG DISCUSSIONS WITH THE BRITISH IN AN EFFORT TO ASSESS THE CONFERENCE AND TO DETERMINE COURSES WHICH ARE MOST LIKELY TO LEAD TO SUCCESS. OUR DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN FRUITFUL. WE HAVE ALWAYS FAVORED BRITISH PARTICIPATION. IN THE PAST IT HAS BEEN THE BRITISH WHO WERE RELUCTANT AND SMITH WHO HAS BEEN OPPOSED. ON THE BASIS OF MY DISCUSSIONS I BELIEVE BRITAIN IS MUCH MORE WILLING TO ASSUME MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES. WHEN THE DISCUSSIONS ARE CONCLUDED YOU WILL NO DOUBT HEAR DIRECTLY FROM BRITAIN.

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 SECTO 32061

NODIS

AS FOR NAMIBIA, I CAN ONLY REPEAT WHAT I HAVE TOLD YOU  
ON MANY OCCASIONS. I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE SECURED  
FROM THE SOUTH AFRICANS CONCESSIONS WHICH A FEW  
MONTHS AGO WERE NOT IMAGINABLE AS THE BASIS FOR  
NEGOTIATIONS.

OUR PROBLEM IS THAT WE SIMPLY DO NOT KNOW WHAT  
NUJOMA'S TERMS ARE. IN A BRIEF MEETING WITH MY  
REPRESENTATIVE IN LAGOS, MR. NUJOMA DID LITTLE TO  
CLARIFY HIS POSITION. I HOPE THAT YOU WILL UNDERSTAND  
MY RELUCTANCE TO START YET ANOTHER PROCESS UNTIL WE HAVE  
BETTER DEFINITIONS OF THE TERMS OF NEGOTIATION. I STILL  
HOPE THAT YOU CAN CONTACT MR. NUJOMA AND TRY TO GAIN THE  
EXACTITUDE WHICH HAS ELUDED US.

I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT NEITHER THE RHODESIANS NOR  
THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES KNEW ABOUT EITHER  
THE FACT OR THE SUBSTANCE OF MY LETTER TO YOU -  
NOR HAVE WE SHARED IT WITH ANYONE ELSE.

ONCE MORE I WANT TO ASSURE YOU OF MY HIGHEST REGARD  
AND MY GRATITUDE FOR THE INCISIVE APPRAISALS WHICH  
YOU HAVE MADE OF PROBLEMS THAT WE ARE DETERMINED TO  
SOLVE.

WITH WARM REGARDS,

SINCERELY, HENRY A. KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

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